1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

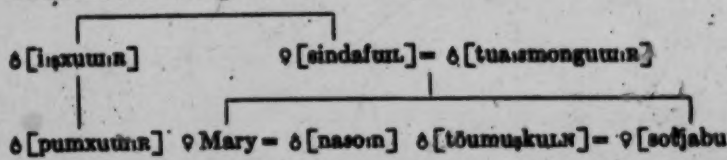
583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

The Regulation of Marriage

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is
588 that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
591 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

797 of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and at-
582 tempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iʂxuuiR]
184 (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuuiR]. His sister [sindafuiL] (Sindavul) married [tuaːsmonguuiR] (59, Tormungudr) [14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuːf]. [iʂxuuiR] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough, Mary was married to [nasoːn] (son of [teːpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the [60] tribal system [nasoːn] and [sindafuiL] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [nasoːn] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this mar-[584] riage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iʂxuuiR], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be mar-
797 ried to [pumxuuiR]. When she came of age however, [pumxuuiR],
184 who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father conse-
686 quently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to
627 marry [tõumuʂkuLN]. [iʂxuuiR] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuuiR] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tõumuʂkuLN] and [sotjabuːf] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peiθoL] [692] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iʂxuuiR]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaːsmonguuiR] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iʂxuuiR]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.



[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the